DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 272 466 SP 027 849

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TITLE Individual and Collective Interpretations of Teacher Biographies.
INSTITUTION Lethbridge Univ. (Alberta). Faculty of Education.
PUB DATE Apr 86
NOTE 47p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (67th, San Francisco, CA, April 16-20, 1986).
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Autobiographies; Cultural Influences; Family Influence; *Individual Development; Interpersonal Competence; Personality Traits; Teacher Attitudes; *Teacher Background; *Teacher Behavior

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a rationale for using a biographical approach in understanding how teachers think and act and how they have come to think and act in the way they do. This approach is seen as being able to provide a fundamental understanding of the teacher's perspective. Understanding how teachers individually and collectively think, act, develop professionally, and change during their careers might provide new insights as to how one might approach necessary reform, change, and improvements in education. The main part of the paper attempts to illuminate the potential of this approach through descriptions of two teachers' autobiographies. An effort at collaborative interpretation of these biographies is provided to identify the nature, sources, and manner of evolution of the special kind of thinking, action, and knowledge that pertains to their teaching. A brief comparative analysis is included to reveal similarities and differences and illustrate themes that might characterize the personal practical knowledge of other teachers. (JD)

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A paper presented at the Annual Meeting
of the American Educational Research Association,
San Francisco, April 16-20, 1986

An earlier version of this paper was presented
at an Invitational Symposium on Classroom Studies of
Teachers' Personal Knowledge, Ontario Institute for
Studies in Education, December 9-11, 1985.

Introduction

This paper presents a personal and theoretical rationale for using a biographical approach in understanding how teachers think and act and how they have come to think and act in the way they do. This approach is seen as being able to provide a fundamental understanding of the teacher's perspective which has been missing from efforts at research, development, reform, curriculum implementation and change during the last twenty-five or more years. We think that understanding how teachers, individually and collectively, think, act, develop professionally and change during their careers might provide new insights as to how one might approach the necessary reform, change, and improvements in education that are necessary to equip our students for a desirable future within a context that is rapidly altering the nature of the teacher's work (Ball and Goodson, 1985).

The main part of the paper attempts to illuminate, for the reader, the potential of this approach through descriptions of two teachers' autobiographies. An effort at collaborative interpretation of these biographies is then provided to identify the nature, sources, and manner of evolution of the special kind of thinking, action, and knowledge that pertains to their teaching. A brief comparative analysis is included to reveal similarities and differences and illustrate themes that might characterize the personal practical knowledge of other teachers.

Personal Perspectives

Certain elements of the biographies of the authors of this paper are important to identify. In the same way that we argue for the necessity of a biographical approach to understanding teachers' personal and professional knowledge later in this paper, the way our thoughts, actions, and knowledge have evolved through specific incidents and experiences in our life histories will help illustrate how we came to have the theoretical perspective we possess with regard to teacher knowledge. As well, an outline of our personal perspectives will provide the reader with an understanding of the attitudes we bring to our collaborative interpretations, with teachers, of their biographies, and of their understanding of their own teaching.

Richard Butt

My cultural roots lie in England. As a student in school I experienced both the richness of active learning within informal primary classrooms and the rigors of an English grammar school. The synergy of these two apparently opposite experiences appears to have generated a persistent interest in autonomous and self-directed learning.

This, in turn, in concert with other factors, assisted in helping me move beyond my working class background. Following a brief stint in science research I entered a teacher preparation program. The program included recovering our own histories as learners, how we were taught, and biographical accounts of young peoples lives that might be found in literature. Many practica in classrooms combined with group seminars, from the very first month and throughout the program, provided for experiential learning and reflection. Within the classrooms in England when I taught there, the teacher was very autonomous with respect to both curriculum and pedagogy, requiring much in the way of curriculum development at the classroom level. I was also involved in teaching Nuffield Junior Science providing experience of a very teacher-oriented large scale project. Teaching in Canada, with a detailed prescribed curriculum and required texts, provided quite a contrast, as did the attempt to implement PSSC Physics, BSCS Biology, and Chem-Study, all of which I taught during the curriculum reform era. I experienced, first hand, the classroom constraints that teachers faced while trying to implement these new programs. Later, as a graduate student I was involved in a province-wide assessment of the implementation and effects of an inquiry-oriented junior high school program which used both quantitative approaches, classroom observation, and personal interviews with teachers (Butt and Wideen, 1973).

As we observed and assessed the degree of implementation we became vividly aware of three things (1) the possibility that curriculum evaluation studies might appraise non-events! (2) The richest understanding of the quality of the program and reasons for its implementation or non-implementation came from our interviews and conversations with teachers. (3) From our data on degree of implementation, those teachers who were in some way modifying and adapting the program to suit classroom contingencies, had the highest degree of implementation. The central role of the teacher in curriculum implementation and elaboration, as well as the potential of understanding this process through qualitative explanations of the personal perspectives of teachers, was highlighted. This contributed to my decision to work in classrooms with teachers on a school by school basis during a ten year period to learn again about teachers' classroom realities and how we might approach change from a teachers' perspective. School and classroom-based approaches appeared to facilitate a realistic and successful approach to classroom and curriculum change (Butt, 1981). As opposed to top-down ways of attempting to implement change, school/classroom-based approaches created a relationship between reformers (outsiders) and the teachers (insiders) whereby (1) teachers were experts in their own classroom reality and outsiders were students of that reality. (2) outsiders could provide, as participant/observers, some ways in which teachers could reflect on what they were doing, and offer other ideas. Jointly insiders and outsiders could consider how these ideas might relate and be practicable for

classroom issues and concerns (Butt and Olson, 1983). We were successful in implementing a child-centered pedagogy in science education in a number of schools using this approach. We noted that the more self-initiated each teacher was, both in terms of the initial motivation for change and as projects evolved, the more quickly and more successfully new actions were implemented. As well, the more we could relate the project to the needs and interests of the teacher as a person the better the project proceeded. This approach was used even to the extent of building a curriculum that, while serving pupil, parent, and pedagogical interests, was elaborated from teachers' personal interests in science (Butt, 1981).

What I learned from these experiences brought the importance of self-initiated professional development within a peer support group into clearer focus as an issue of improvement. As well, besides the sharing of common commitments and concerns within a collective approach to problems, it emphasized that one very major element of the situation-specific nature of teaching and professional development is the personal.

How individual teachers think and act became a focus of my work from that time on (Butt, 1984; Butt and Raymond, Forthcoming)--not only how they think and act in the present but how did they think and act in the past and what influences shaped the way they changed and evolved over time? Our thinking was that if we could understand how teachers come to think and act the way they do--how they changed and developed professionally--then we could better approach the question as to how we participate with teachers in making necessary pedagogical and curriculum changes in classrooms.

Danielle Raymond

Je suis que-becoise francaise. I was born the eldest of a family of four to parents who, in spite of modest means, valued schooling and education for their children. The boring, uniform curriculum and rigid behavior code of my grade school years did not blend well with my energy and craving for knowledge. As my disruptive behavior progressively threatened my schooling, I learned to channel this energy into reading on my own, music, and other extracurricular activities. The tracking system of high school provided me with a more stimulating curriculum, featuring, however, an emphasis on rote learning and on compliance to norms of appropriate conduct for "educated girls."

The "quiet revolution" of the early sixties in Quebec broadened educational opportunities to girls from different backgrounds. I encountered my first real challenges in a well rounded college program "course classique" that fostered rigour, freedom of thought, exposure to diversified sources of knowledge and cultures, and, most of all, the value of life-long learning. I then entered a psychology program with the desire to work with children in schools in order to create learning opportunities commensurate

with their potential and individual characteristics. Practica in school psychology involved working with teachers in the classroom on a long term basis. It is in this context that I caught a first glimpse of the complexity, as well as of the personal nature, of teaching. Working as a school psychologist broadened these earlier realizations: teachers' requests for me to "work on a case" most often concealed wishes for test scores that would send academically backward children "down to the special class." As I found myself unable to forward such recommendations--most children were of average general ability, but low on verbal skills--I initiated conversations with teachers about changes in curriculum, individualization of instruction, ideas about children. Over time I became aware of the complexity of teachers' professional development, in a context of multiple demands, lack of resources, unspeakable and potentially insoluble teaching dilemmas. When this was combined with the frustrations with my job as a school psychologist--I could no longer accept testing children on moral grounds--I decided to move into preservice teacher education.

In my first years of teaching developmental and learning psychology, I tried to achieve some balance between theoretical concepts and observation of different types of children in the classroom. However, I soon realized, as they entered practice teaching, student-teachers soon dropped whatever they had acquired from exposure to theory. I found out, while supervising, that individual configurations of values, attitudes, capacities, and of learning and teaching styles gained through experience were the rule, not the exception. Students' "practical reasoning" in practicum teaching situations relied strongly on experiential knowledge, acquired as students, of schools, learning, teaching, teachers, and children. Progressively, my perception of teachers' professional development broadened to include personal and student life history. My courses and practicum supervision started to include ways of eliciting understandings of practical situations that had experiential components. Also as a secondary teacher education program chair, I substituted for two traditional courses, periods of early immersion into schools coupled with seminars, led by a faculty team, within which student-teachers had to confront and examine their individual interpretations of classroom life.

As this more experience-based initiative did not sit well with the rest of the staff, I resigned the program chairmanship and focused my work on practice-teaching supervision, research, and school-based curriculum projects. A major educational reform had been undertaken in Quebec that posed major implementation difficulties, and challenges, especially for elementary school teachers (Hensler-Mehu, Raymond and Elbaz, 1983; Hensler and Raymond, 1986). As we worked with teams of teachers and curriculum consultants, we realized that this top-down reform met with a "resistance" rooted in feelings of powerless and sometimes despair. Thrown into situations where changes were coming down fast and heavy, teachers felt stripped of their knowledge and

competence (Raymond and Hensler, 1984a). On the other hand, when curriculum implementation was envisaged within the context of local needs, a sense of personal and communal agency was restored. Long term professional and school development projects emerged that included an intricate negotiation of personal, professional, local and reform-related needs. In such a context, teachers brought their practice and knowledge to bear on the reforms. Mandated teaching practices and curriculum objectives were approached, discussed and transformed (Raymond and Hensler-Mehu, 1984b). This work also allowed us to realize that "fidelity studies" of implementation barely scratched the surface of the educational change process. My earlier understandings of the complexity and personal nature of teacher's professional development were further stretched; teacher development was closely tied to the political, social, and economic context of teaching.

My interests in teacher's professional development, which were initially practical and programmatic in nature, thus evolved towards a search for a much broader understanding that would cover the whole life span, as well as take into account the context of teaching, as it has become. I see this understanding as a major stepping stone towards a fuller grasp of the complexity of educational change.

Theoretical Perspectives

Understanding aspects of our personal and professional histories that pertain to the work reported in this paper not only exposes how those perspectives contribute to our theoretical framework for engaging in biographical work in order to understand how one might improve classrooms, but also speaks to the complementarity of our approaches. As well, our collaboration potentially strengthens the validity of biographical interpretation through a dialogue among multiple readers as well as providing for the perspectives of both genders to be represented in pertinent issues.

Elsewhere we have identified three major interrelated crises that have plagued education. They are: a crisis of scholarly inquiry, a crisis of professional knowledge, and a crisis of reform (Butt and Raymond, Forthcoming). We see the crises in scholarly inquiry, caused basically by an over-reliance on logical positivism, as currently being overcome by a return to the neglected ground of educational reality through the complementary use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches that focus on the phenomena of education in a direct and holistic way. In this way, the dynamic complex interrelatedness of classroom activities and human interactions and the situation-specific nature of teaching are better respected. As well, we think these approaches permit both the uniquenesses within and commonalities across classrooms to be reflected.

The crisis in professional knowledge, related to the foregoing problems of scholarship,

finds its root cause within a preoccupation with the discovery or invention of sure-fired models which would guarantee generalizable problem solutions (Schon, 1983). This preoccupation with prescription has led to the formation of bodies of professional knowledge which have been largely ignored by professionals-in-action since they have found that little of this prescriptive technology is appropriate to specific situations whose nature is uniquely personal, instinctive, intuitive, reflective, and practical (Eisner, 1979, 1983; Schwab, 1969, 1971). The solution of practical problems derives more from reflection-on- action, reflection-in-action, professional intuition, craft and art, and the special personal practical knowledge held by the teacher (Clandanin, 1985). The nature, then, of professional action, especially teaching, requires us to focus primarily and initially on the qualitative rather than quantitative nature of practice, in order to derive professional knowledge useful to both scholars and practitioners.

Given this background, it is not surprising that we have experienced a crisis of reform. Firstly, most attempts at educational reform in the last several decades have relied on prescriptive science and technology. Secondly, the hidden relationship between theory and practice in prescriptive science, that theory is superior to practice and must be directly applied to the practical in order to improve practice, became embodied in the human interactions between reformers and teachers. The relationship of outsiders (reformers) to insiders (teachers) was a vertical and unequal one (Connelly, 1980; Butt and Olson, 1983; Butt, 1982). Teachers were not able to participate in determining the changes that were thrust upon them. Reformers did not work with teachers in understanding classroom reality. In general they were ignorant of the culture of the school and classroom (Sarason, 1971).

It is within this broader context of crises in scholarly inquiry, professional knowledge, and educational reform that we locate three interrelated concerns that fuelled our interest in the study of teachers' personal practical knowledge.

First, and foremost, critical assessments of the reasons for the limited impact of curriculum innovations on classroom practice have pointed to the reformer's neglect of the central role of teachers' intentions and pedagogical expertise in effecting significant classroom change (Aoki, 1983; Butt and Olson, 1983; Clandanin, 1985; Connelly, 1972; Elbaz, 1983; Werner, 1982). The development of more adequate views of curriculum development and implementation thus calls for a shift of focus and of approach in the study of classroom change; instead of adopting an outsider's perspective whereby researcher, reformer or innovator generated criteria are used to make judgments about change, we need to ask the teachers themselves what classroom change means for them, from their own perspective and criteria. In so doing, we need to develop research approaches that allow the teacher's knowledge of classroom realities to emerge.

Studies of implementation that attempt to take the teacher's point of view more seriously suggest that implementation be envisaged as staff development (Fullan, 1982, 1985; Guskey, 1985) and that traditional professional development models should undergo important revisions. This second area of concern has indeed for sometime been the object of vituperative comments from both practitioners and researchers. Teacher professional development efforts, the key to school improvement, have been "so frustratingly wasteful as the thousands of workshops and conferences . . . led to no significant change in practice when the teachers returned to their classrooms." (Fullan, 1982, p. 263). In-service education has disregarded the teacher as an active learner and has based its' interventions on less than adequate, if any, conceptions of how learning occurs throughout her/his career:

> "teachers expressed the feeling that there is no continuity in teacher development, they usually added that there was simply a smorgasbord of workshops. Workshops were often characterized as "101 tricks for Monday morning" and while there may be some value to learning some tricks early in your teaching career, you rapidly outgrow that stage." (Flanders, 1983, p. 148).

More recent points of view on classroom change thus think of implementation as a learning process in which teachers are seen as adult learners (Fullan, 1982, 1985; Ingvarson and Greenway, 1982). For instance, Fullan (1985) and Guskey (1985) suggest that teachers do not learn when staff development efforts focus first on initiating changes in beliefs, attitudes and perceptions. Cognitive and attitudinal changes would occur only after modifications in classroom practices have led to significant and desirable changes in classroom related events (e.g. student learning outcomes, involvement in activities, attitudes towards school). However valuable, these suggestions are still tainted with a preoccupation for the "effectiveness" of implementation efforts; the changes in teacher beliefs, attitudes, practices and behaviors are those deemed desirable by program developers. Seeing the teacher as an adult learner entails acknowledging that she holds an articulate and elaborated practical knowledge of classroom practice that, if examined on its' own grounds, might not be organized in terms of "beliefs," "attitudes," "instructional practices" (Clandanin, 1985; Elbaz, 1983; Raymond and Hensler-Mehu, 1984). Seeing the teacher as an adult learner implies that teachers will seek a kind of knowledge that can, in some way, be incorporated in the structure of knowledge they have developed; it also means that they will learn in several ways, from several sources and in various manners at different moments in their careers. Evidence from studies of teachers' professional life cycles document important changes in teachers' concerns (Adams, 1982; Ball and Goodson, 1985; Fuller and Bown, 1975; Newman et al. 1980a, 1980b) relationships with pupils (Huberman and Shapira,

1979; Newman, 1979; Newman et al. 1980a, 1980b,) and relationships with colleagues (Gherke, 1981; Huberman and Shapira, 1983; Newman et al. 1980a, 1980b) that suggest differentiated learning interests and processes throughout their careers. Huberman's (1984) interviews with 150 teachers indeed indicate that most teachers see themselves as achieving mastery of different pedagogical competencies at various moments in their careers, while, even late in mid-career, still lacking proficiency in certain areas (teaching children with learning problems, individualization of instruction, working with heterogeneous groups of students); Huberman also observes that at various moments of their professional lives, teachers will seek for different sources of knowledge, with a preference for informal discussions with selected and available colleagues.

Although these data present some important limitations, such as the use of researcher generated categories in order to create general patterns and minimize individual configurations, they are useful to broaden the scope of questions asked about teachers by innovation-minded curricularists. A thorough acknowledgment of the teacher as learner and of classroom change as a learning process calls then for an understanding of the phenomenology of teacher's professional development, of the genesis of her personal practical knowledge.

Our third concern is political in its' nature as well as in its' implications. All their lives teachers have to confront the negative stereotypes--"teacher as robot, devil, angel, nervous Nellie" (Newman et al. 1980b)--foisted upon them by the American culture. Descriptions of teaching as a " flat occupation with no career structure, low pay, salary increments unrelated to merit have been paralleled with portrayals of teaching as "one great plateau" where "it appears that the annual cycle of the school year lulls teachers into a repetitious professional cycle of their own" (Newman et al., 1980a).

Within the educational community, the image of teachers as semi-professionals who lack control and autonomy over their own work and as persons who do not contribute to the creation of knowledge has permeated and congealed the whole educational enterprise. Researchers have torn the teacher out of the context of the classroom, plagued her with various insidious effects (Hawthorne, novelty, Rosenthal, halo), parcelled out into discrete skills the unity of intention and action present in teaching practices. Researchers who view knowledge solely as empirical or analytic (Elbaz, 1983) preclude the acknowledgment of and responsive inquiry into the nature of the teacher's personal professional knowledge.

Pre-service teacher education has served to prepare the ground for such a view to take hold in the teachers themselves. Plagued by the "lack of an agreed upon knowledge base that creates a vacuum into which marches technological neutrality" (Lather, 1984, p. 2), the pre-service curriculum, often attacked as intellectually empty and

pedagogically unsound, extols the "correct method" over freedom of thought, the authority of "science" over critical examination of established models of inquiry and "reduces the intrinsic ambiguity of teaching through a technological mindset that deintellectualizes teachers and depoliticizes the inherently ideological activity of teaching" (Lather, 1984, p. 6). Shaped by their training to look outside of themselves for truths about their own reality and further "deskilled" by the bureaucratization of teaching that isolates them into the classroom, experienced teachers find themselves at mid-career in a state of burn-out that:

> "does not come from overtaxing one's intellectual and mental capacities . . . but from not being able to use those abilities to handle difficult emotional and managerial problems." (Freedman, 1983, p. 27).

The view of teachers implicit in the social context of education thus contributes to their disempowerment by limiting their opportunities to develop and exhibit the knowledge and intelligence that are necessary in working effectively with groups of students.

More positive outlooks on the teacher in alternative models of curriculum development (Connelly, 1972), studies of curriculum practice (Reid and Walker, 1975 in Elbaz, 1983) and conceptions of teaching (Hunt and Gow, 1984; Chittenden and Amarel, 1976) have recently contributed to the elaboration of studies depicting teachers as active holders of knowledge, as well as agents in the reality of the classroom. These studies provide a foundation for the emergent evolution of the notion of personal practical knowledge. In our view, they might also do more than that: the conceptualization of personal practical knowledge from the teacher's perspective, while possibly contributing to the enhancement the teacher's "professional" status, (Clandanin, 1985) or the fuller use of the human resources teachers bring to their work (Elbaz, 1983) can be seen as an eminently political endeavor. The study of experiential knowledge, where an understanding of the search for individual meaning is critical, will expose the teacher's voice, in both its' alienated and unadulterated modes, to the researcher and the teacher herself.

The potential of the collaborative study of personal professional knowledge for providing teachers with the power to transcend their present situation and take control of their own lives and for bringing researchers to liberate themselves from stultifying conceptions of scientific inquiry locates it within an emancipatory epistemological and practical approach to curriculum inquiry. From the personal vantage point of individual teachers the placing of teaching at the center of practice, reform, and research is an existential issue. From the perspective of teachers in general, representing the collective knowledge of teachers as a legitimate and worthwhile body of knowledge is a political issue. Making relationships between insiders and outsiders in a horizontal and collaborative

learning enterprise is an issue of power. Moving from existing alienating practices to teacher and school-based approaches must be regarded as an issue of teacher empowerment and emancipation.

Teacher thinking, action, and knowledge are of vital importance in the endeavor to understand how classrooms are the way they are. How teachers thoughts, actions, and knowledge have evolved and changed throughout their personal and professional lives will help us understand how classrooms have come to be the way they are and how they might become otherwise. In considering how to approach understanding these issues it was essential to ask what methodology could carry, in the most authentic way, the teachers voice (Butt and Raymond, Forthcoming). The notion of teachers voice is important in that it carries the tone, the language, the quality, the feelings, that are conveyed by the way a teacher speaks or writes. In a political sense the notion of the teachers voice addresses the right to speak and be represented. It can represent both the unique individual and the collective voice; one that is characteristic of teachers as compared to other groups.

From this background we hope that the reader can understand our interest in the special type of knowledge that teachers possess, its potential nature, sources, and development. One potentially potent way of exploring these issues that combines the advantages of collective and individual learning with the notion of empowerment is a form of collaborative autobiography practiced by university and teacher researchers. In evolving our approach to biography which reflects our interest in the personal and emancipatory research, we have been influenced by, and have drawn from, reconceptualist literature, particularly the works of Pinar (1978, 1980, 1981); Grumet (1980); and Berk (1980).

Methodology

Evolving Autobiographies

One of the first, among other ways, of engaging in collaborative autobiography with teachers that we are exploring is through the facilitating framework afforded by graduate study. Groups of teachers constructed their personal and professional biographies through a graduate course in curriculum studies. Teachers worked through four phases: a depiction of the context of their current working reality, a description of their current pedagogy and curriculum-in-use, an account of their reflections on their past personal and professional lives insofar as they might relate to an understanding of present professional thoughts and actions and, finally, a projection into their preferred personal/professional futures as related to a personal critical appraisal of the previous

three accounts. The process of the course is based on a collaborative social learning approach best characterized by Jaime Diaz.

> "Social learning necessarily implies relationship with others; not only as an object of knowledge but as companions on the road in the same process--to think with others; to decide with them; to act in an organized way with them. It is a horizontal, pedagogical relationship in which all are considered capable to give and receive; therefore all are masters and disciples, parents and children. The group is the educator who leads the members along the road to maturity. It is no longer a vertical relationship in which the teacher monopolizes knowledge and decisions (Diaz, 1977).

The course is described in detail elsewhere (Butt, in preparation) but the following brief synopsis will characterize its main elements. Each member of the group (including the instructor) presents excerpts of exploratory writing on each assignment. The rest of the group ask questions, share points of similarity and difference in experience, in order, through dialogue and discussion, to gain a deeper understanding of each presenter, to assist each presenter to clarify their own understandings, and, as importantly to catalyse each member of the group in their efforts to address each assignment. To facilitate a high quality of personal reflection, sharing and collaboration, a number of conditions are essential to the process of the course. They include making "I" statements, accurately identifying and describing feelings, being frank and honest about onself, engaging in non-critical acceptance of others, and providing confidentiality. Participants are reminded that they have complete control over the level of disclosure they decide to manifest about personal and professional aspects of their lives. There are a number of different situations within which different levels of disclosure are possible. They include the public discussion in class, private conversations with a friend or friends in or outside the class, discussion with the instructor, the written biography, and of course, what one discloses to oneself. The experience of the course, then, can manifest itself at multiple levels. The final written autobiographies evolve from this process, and some written dialogue with the instructor of the course, as well as through some readings which pertain to biography and classroom reality assigned after exploratory work has been completed. The autobiographies, then, are individual and personal, but they evolve as well from a collective and collaborative process.

Interpreting the Autobiographies

A significant proportion of what is interpreted from a person's biography from the perspective of reflection on and analysis of events, relationship between events, thinking, action and meaning lies within what is written, in the words of each author, as a result of the above dialogical process. In this sense each autobiographer has a major participation in the initial shaping of interpretation. The first two authors of this

paper, in elaborating interpretative accounts have attempted to take measures to represent the teacher's perspective and voice in varying ways. The first author participated in the course process as the facilitator and so was exposed to the social education that provides a context from which to interpret biographies. As well, the first author engaged in an exercise of "rewriting" the two autobiographies used as illustrations in this paper in the form of summaries in the third person. using. as far as possible the language, words, and concepts of the teacher. This exercise was thought to enable a deeper appreciation of the text in a verbatim sense and also was thought to discourage interpretive conceptualization which was premature prior to a thorough understanding of the text.

These summaries were shared with the third and fourth authors and they validated the accounts. There were no major disagreements as to the text. Some suggestions were made with respect to confidentiality of certain aspects of the accounts. Visits were made to both classrooms to compare their reality with the picture held by the first author of the teachers and the classrooms. There was a high degree of congruence--sufficient to attest to the basic validity of both accounts. The second author interpreted the autobiographies independently as a second reader of the text. The second author also wrote a descriptive summary of each autobiography. This summary carried the concepts, categories, phrases, and expressions used by the teachers. Then. the second author used a form of charting, in order to highlight important elements in the accounts as well as relationships identified by the teacher in his/her own rendition. Both authors used a process similar to theoretical memos (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) whereby important elements and interpretive ideas were noted as they pertained to the nature, sources of influences, change, and evolution of the teacher's personal practical knowledge. It was then possible to see what specific elements of the teacher's current pedagogy were related to what biographical influences and, at the same time, to identify the most potent influences from the past. Following this process a joint description and interpretive summary were constructed for each biography using the autobiographies, the descriptive summaries, the charts and theoretical memos. This account was subjected to validity checks by the first two authors and each teacher biographer. The descriptive summaries use, as far as possible, the words and phrases of the autobiographer, including where appropriate, direct quotations.

Description: Lloyd's Story

Lloyd is a 38 year old teacher with 12 years of teaching experience. He currently teaches grade six pupils, most of whom are of average or below average ability. He has been teaching in his current school for the past 11 years. Four years ago he was

made administrative assistant. Lloyd is a Japanese Canadian whose family was interned during the war and resettled in Southern Alberta. He is the third youngest in a family of ten children. He is married with three children.

Working Reality

Lloyd experiences pressure from several sources: covering the curriculum at the upper elementary level, dealing with the many non-curricular tasks and interruptions that significantly diminish curriculum time, dealing with intercollegial relations, coping with the pressure of being scrutinized "in the fishbowl," and dealing with perceived expectations of being an administrator. We will deal with these here only insofar as they relate to curriculum and pedagogy.

Lloyd documents over 40 non-curricular activities as well as the continued flood of forms to fill out, record keeping, distribution of letters and advertisements that take away teaching time. Lloyd is peeved that charitable and service agencies constantly bombard schools with ideas they would like to promote for their own reasons and that schools provide an easy access to large numbers of people, a captive audience, and impressionable minds. These activities take away precious time, energy and attention from the official curriculum and . . . "leave me less time to cover any 'nice-to-knows.'"

Lloyd reveals his feelings regarding intercollegial matters when he expressed his dissatisfaction with his peers who bitch about interruptions but who do not have the collective will to do something about it at staff meetings. He seethed inside when he experienced their apathy, lack of dialogue and discussion. In his early years of teaching he described himself as a radical outspoken loner whose opinions were non-conformist and unpopular, so much so that he began to question his own judgment. To understand this more fully however, we need to go back to Lloyd's early years of teaching when he encountered Mrs. S. an elderly teacher who was two years away from retirement.

> This elderly teacher, . . . was very set in her ways, having taught a great number of years. As she always like to put it, "I'm very experienced, you know." During our initial meetings, Mrs. S., Joan (the other third grade teacher) and I got along quite amicably. However, one thing was wrong--Mrs. S. seemed to be dominating the meetings and my suggestions counted for very little. In fact, whenever I suggested a new or interesting (in my opinion) way to handle problems or impending situations, she would cross her arms and state emphatically and in a condescending tone of voice, one of her patented retorts--"I've tried that before and it doesn't work . . . too much time and energy required . . . no way!". . . and finally the ultimate putdown--"You're just a pup . . . I guess you'll just have to learn the hard way!" I assumed the other teacher had locked horns with her a few years earlier, as she kept very quiet during these skirmishes and just nodded in agreement regardless of

> who was on the floor at the time. In a very short time, these supposedly constructive sessions became increasingly less productive and longer silent periods became more the rule than the exception. It was surely a classic case of "new" vs "old" and no party could ever lay claim to victory (L.C. p. 16-17).

Lloyd was disappointed that these grade level meetings were not focussed on professional growth. He became more frustrated and very aggressive in attempting to sway Mrs. S., but it was like tackling an immovable object. This experience left a scar that was to last for a long time. When Lloyd moved schools, through not by choice, he changed.

> I became a "closet teacher," in that I would listen to suggestions, not offering any suggestions, and then "do my own thing." I found great success with this mode of operating and up to a few years ago, I hesitated to share any of my strategies/worksheets/lessons I developed on my own. Becoming an administrator forced me into sharing, for I wanted to provide teachers with access to as many resources as possible--the better the programs they had, the better it was for the school. It also started to make me feel worthwhile and proud when teachers tried some of my ideas and they actually worked for them as well (L.C. p. 18).

Another sense of pressure for Lloyd is that teachers are forever scrutinized by students, parents, colleagues, administrators, consultants, central office personnel and other administrators--and sometimes unfairly judged. He feels like a goldfish in a bowl. One example Lloyd gives of this phenomenon is the increasing use of test scores, not only as a way of measuring student achievement but also inevitably by some persons as a way of assessing teaching competence, without taking other variables, such as socio-economic status, into account.

Lloyd feels fortunate that his students, though regarded as having some problems, have produced acceptable test scores but feels "under the gun" that they must score well and rues the day when they come up short. Will it be interpreted as inadequate performance on his part? If so, Lloyd feels he would have to eliminate valuable 'nice-to-know' things like drama and computers.

> To cope with this anxiety I've decided not to play the game and will continue to operate my program as it is, until such time as I have to answer to my superiors for my test scores (L.A. p. 6).

The description opens with a vignette wherein a colleague of Lloyd's angrily requests to talk with him about the behavior of his class.

> As she stormed away, my innocent-looking children stared at me with disbelief. "Boy, is she ever made at you," volunteered Sara sympathetically. "At me?" I questioned. "I'd say she was quite upset with you students," I added.
>
> I guess it was lecture time again. My students' overall work habits, attitude, and general conduct had not been up to par since the Christmas break and a gentle reminder during the first week back must have been ineffective. . . . "Now, give it to me straight," I ordered.
>
> "I guess some of us weren't being very responsible students," offered Blake. The rest of the class nodded their heads in agreement.
>
> "Well, people," I began, "let's review my rules and your own growth objectives that you established at the beginning of the year." I felt a little better, for they were now able to admit their mistakes (L.B. pp. 2-3).

Lloyd has only two rules. No one will speak when someone else is already speaking, and homework must be completed. He has few rules for several reasons. The more rules you have, the more vigilant you must be in enforcing them. Too many rules can work against you since the students will always be testing to see how far they can go. As well, since the rules are Lloyd's he feels that lack of ownership on the part of the student would make them too hard to enforce if there were too many.

> On the other hand, I have my students develop their own personal growth objectives at the start of the year and although these are their own goals, I find that I am the one who must help train them and help carry them out. These goals can cause frustration at times, but nonetheless are stressed whenever possible. These goals are: strive for excellence, respect each other as persons, work as a team and help each other, be responsible for own actions and accept the consequences, be self-disciplined.
>
> When I dispense my responsibility lecture, I deal with key concepts such as self-respect, self-discipline, maturity, pride, teamwork, commitment and responsibility. Typically, there is total stillness in the room as I finish my monologue some 30 minutes later. The students are usually a little subdued, appearing to be deep in thought, and hopefully, pondering the virtues of my lecture. Most times I even get a collective apology and I feel really confident that I have reached them (L.B. p. 4).

Lloyd prides himself in having one of the classes that is the most responsible, trustworthy, and disciplined in the school. He also feels part of the reason for this, besides his disciplinary skill, is that he has good rapport with his students due to his personality. He shows warmth through talking to them not at them, through joking

around, through physical contact, and feels his small stature lessens the physical distance between them. Having a well disciplined class also brings pressure. At times he fears that his classroom has become a dumping ground for students with every conceivable weakness . . . academic, social, disciplinary, and emotional. The principal and parents request placements. He wonders whether he is a social worker or a teacher--whether to go into counselling fulltime, therefore not having to plan lessons and teach curriculum! He worries about burn out, especially when some classes don't catch on quickly and require repeated reminders like his current class.

> At times, when I feel I am failing in my attempts to make them what I want them to be, I really get upset with them and myself and "lower the boom." I fully realize that I am foisting my own personal values on them and am constantly fighting their collective values, or at least, their form of presentation, which have been acquired from their respective homes and are certainly more deeply ingrained than mine. However, I believe strongly in my values and because I am a strong role model for these students, I will continue to try to influence them. There is an inherent danger in this attitude, I realize, as we saw in the recent case of Jim Keegstra of Eckville, Alberta.
>
> Overall, I do see definite progress with individual students during the school year. The satisfaction I get when they do indeed develop and grow--evidenced when they make return visits, make some kind of success in their lives, or I receive feedback from parents--make it all worthwhile. I have made a difference! (L.B. p. 6)

In making sense of how he came to think and act this way in terms of what he calls social development in the classroom, Lloyd posits several shaping influences.

Family

Lloyd sees his parents and family as having a major effect on his teaching. Throughout his life, his parents have repeatedly stressed the concepts of respect, responsibility, commitment, self-discipline, teamwork, trust, and right and wrong. They had the ability to ingrain these values without spanking or verbal abuse. They were good role models and used the identical lectures that Lloyd uses now with his own children and his class. Lloyd sees himself using the same concepts in the classroom and, as a professional, insists on the same high level of organization, efficiency, commitment, and standards of work that his parents exemplified in their community work for himself and his students.

For Lloyd, when he was growing up, the focus at home and elsewhere was collective family life, whether working hard as a team to "pull and top" sugar beets to get out of old shacks and beet farms to a better life, or other doing projects. The notion of family and team work also comes through from Lloyd's background due to being the third youngest of ten siblings. A rough early life required them to care for, stick up

for and help each other. Rules and organization, including not speaking when others were, were a necessary part of such a large group of siblings!

> This feeling of family has also filtered down into my classroom. I stress to all my students that everyone is important in the classroom and no one student is the most important. I make sure that everyone has equal opportunity over the course of a week to assist in the daily routines, such as passing out books, being messengers, getting the flouride rinse, etc. I also like to stress the notion that each member of the class is responsible to the class as well as to himself.
>
> Developing a feeling of sticking together, helping and caring for each other - a feeling I had in my family--is also promoted in my classroom. I always stress in my lectures to my students on the subject of family, that they may not appreciate their parents/siblings right now, but sooner or later, they come to realize their value. Their family make up their true "best friends" who are there when needed--blood is thicker than water . . . (L.C. pp. 4-5).

Cultural Deprivation

> My parents, like all others of Japanese ancestry, were relocated and placed in internment camps during the Second World War. Allowed to take only as many personal possessions as they were able to carry, they lost virtually everything they had worked for in this "Land of Opportunity," except their dignity. From living in nice, clean homes, they were coralled into prison-type camps and later shipped to farms in Southern Alberta where they lived in "beet shacks" with few of life's amenities. Through all this, my parents were able to maintain their sense of objectivity to channel all their energies into gaining acceptance and the respectability that they desired (L.C. pp. 1-2).

Lloyd's family successfully worked and earned its way out of the beet farm shacks and into the city.

> . . . our quest for respectability was not an easy one. At that time, there were very few Japanese Canadians willing to reside in Lethbridge for they were like "bananas"--yellow on the outside and white on the inside--and were not able to hide from the glaring eyes and sharp tongues of some bigotted people. I am certain that my sensitivity towards students of visible minority groups--like Native Indians, Vietnamese, Japanese, Chinese and Pakistanis--is a direct result of the many instances of discrimination I personally faced some 20 years ago (L.C. p. 6).

Lloyd's own experience of cultural deprivation enables him to relate to the children in his class, most of whom could be described in similar terms or, at least, socio-economically deprived. He can empathize with their lot and feels that "with a joint effort we will have a smooth-running operation with a common goal--<u>to move upward</u>" (L.C. pp. 4-5). The common goal obviously includes Lloyd himself. Becoming an

administrative assistant was very important. Lloyd also is highly motivated to do a good job to be the best teacher, a good administrator and also to be seen to be doing a good job so that he might become a principal of his own school. He also concludes in his biography that:

> "You've come a long way, baby." As I reflect back on the many trials and tribulations I have encountered over the years, I feel very fortunate to have come this far--from a borderline delinquent to a respected teacher and administrator. I am sure that many of my former teachers and companions are amazed that I changed so drastically from when they knew me. In this same vein, however, I am sure that these same people are not even aware that each and every one of them have had an effect on my current pedagogy (L.C. p. 21).

Academic Development

I am a stickler for mandated curriculum for the following reasons:

1. I have made a habit from my earliest teaching days to refer to the curriculum guide and follow it like the Gospel.

2. I want to avoid criticism from my students' subsequent teachers.

3. I want my students to have an easy transition from grade to grade.

4. I want to have the black and white data to justify my programs to administrators, parents, students and other outside groups (safety measure).

5. I have made a commitment--however covert--to superiors that I would teach the curriculum guide and having a well-developed sense of right and wrong, I just do not want to eliminate any areas (L.B. pp. 14-15).

Earlier Lloyd had also written that he didn't want authority figures to come down on him for failing to cover the curricula, that nothing should be left out in a system of progression, and that he found it challenging to learn and cover all curriculum areas since it gave him a sense of knowledgability (L.B. p. 2).

> However, I must admit that I do deviate from the curriculum guide, in that, my practical knowledge influences how much time and detail I will use in covering certain areas. For example, I will spend much more time than recommended with numeration, operation and problem-solving concepts than the areas of measurement and geometry. In essence, I am making a decision for the students, saying that the former is much more important and useful than the latter (L.B. p. 15).

Lloyd has a plethora of language arts materials which he has used throughout the last five years. He had gradually grown away from using the teacher's guide so closely, tending to pick and choose on the basis of relevance and suitability.

> The recommended math textbook lacks sufficient practice examples and also seems to make too many presuppositions as to previous experience and therefore creates a lack of sequence or a sense of progression . . . .
>
> However, whenever I am teaching a subject for the first time, I follow a prescribed text, providing me with a vehicle to learn the subject matter. I may or may not leave the text, depending on its value and whether or not I am able to find and develop my own materials . . . .
>
> As in most of my subjects, I use the text as only a guide and add a lot of supplementary activities of my own. Generally speaking, I place stock in my own materials moreso than a prescribed text (L.B. p. 16).

Lloyd uses his own and other tests quite frequently, including pre and post tests since: growth can be measured from start to finish; problem areas can be diagnosed; any concept worth teaching is worth testing; children need to write tests so as to do well in external assessment; also Lloyd does not want his teaching to be labelled by unfavorable test scores.

Lloyd's pedagogy in maths reflects a variety of strategies and resources that would need to be well planned. One girl, however, despite this apparently excellent instruction did not grasp the concept. Lloyd could not understand how Jayne could not have comprehended since . . . .

> Her pretest paper showed she needed only a slight review on the area and perimeter of squares and rectangles, but a great deal of instruction dealing with triangles and circles. The whole class had spent 5.1/2 hours of intense work trying to learn, practice and review these concepts. We had spent 15 minutes watching a filmstrip, 1/2 hour using toothpick "manipulatives," two hours on the computer center, an additional hour with students at the blackboard solving teacher-directed questions. The remaining time was spent working on practice questions. We were now ready for post-tests, or so I thought. (L. B. pp. 6-7).

Lloyd describes how he eventually asked another pupil to attempt to explain the concept to the girl having difficulty. She apparently did quite easily!

Lloyd's social studies approach uses research-oriented activities--the type of inquiry approach recommended by the curriculum guide. He describes how, at this stage, some students are able to write their own research questions. They are able to go to the wide variety of materials that are available in the classroom and pursue specific

information that would answer their questions. Lloyd provides ongoing help in a private corner of the room for those who need help in developing their questions.

Lloyd's description of his approach to maths and social studies illuminates his teaching style which is characterized by structure, organization, flexibility, sequential order, and progression. Lloyd finds he prefers teaching in a block approach rather than a spiral method with sequential order and progression starting from the basics then proceeding in increasing levels of difficulty to more complex concepts. His flexibility is illustrated by the incident with Louise, as well, Lloyd has to be flexible with respect to interruptions from the principal or colleagues with respect to administrative matters, and also by the way he makes curriculum decisions as to what to emphasize and how to use resources.

Lloyd also mentions that his lectures (as we know from social development) are very important and serious in nature.

> My students have come to know that when I say it is time to listen, they know that something I am about to say is of importance. That is not to say that my lectures are not spiced up with interesting anecdotes or appropriate jokes, for I firmly believe the need to keep students alert and "hanging on every word" so they retain the message I am sending (L.B. p. 14).

Lloyd emphasizes language arts skills in all his classes and again uses a wide variety of instructional strategies and resources in a carefully structured but flexible way. He uses drama and role playing throughout the curriculum as a valuable expressive learning tool and tries to provide life experiences whenever possible to make the curriculum relevant.

Given this teaching style and emphasis, it is not surprising that Lloyd plans and prepares for teaching very thoroughly. He examines the curriculum carefully, works out long, medium, and short term plans. He plans lessons in comprehensive detail including instructions to be followed.

As to the human and emotional side of his teaching Lloyd tries to be patient, understanding, and sympathetic to the needs of his students. He also wants them, and pushes them, to strive to pursue their individual capabilities, using praise as a motivational tool. Lloyd also spends significant time and energy in developing relationships and good rapport with his students. He tries to talk to each student in a personal way each day if possible, and tries to manifest his warmth for his students in a variety of ways including jokes and hugs; he also plays games in the school yard when he has time.

Influences of the Past

Lloyd locates his general attitude towards mandated curriculum in his parents' emphasis on right and wrong (you are required by law to teach the curriculum), commitment (complete the curriculum as prescribed), and survival (if you teach what you are supposed to you don't get into trouble), and in his striving to gain acceptance and respectability. The theme of upward mobility can be picked up again, here, from the previous section. The necessary striving for success as a member of a minority group combined with the strong work ethic of the Japanese culture contributed to what Lloyd calls his great obsession. This relates not only to his attitude to curriculum but the total teaching job, including thorough preparation and very detailed plans.

Lloyd arrived at his first full time job with "an inner drive and gusto to become the best damn teacher in the world!" (L.C. p. 13). He was obsessed with being the best using all his energy and time, even at the expense of his family and friends. Everything revolved around the realm of education. It became more than just a preoccupation.

> Each day, for the first seven years of my teaching career was like a ritual. I would arrive at school an hour before the first bell and leave about an hour and one half at the close. This made it a solid 7.1/2 hours of productive and instructional time at school, not including noon hour extra- curricular supervision which occurred at different intervals during the year. After my evening meal at home, I would then settle down in my den and fly through yet another five to six hours of marking, creating worksheets and drawing up new and innovative lesson plans. I also studied the Alberta Program of Studies and the Alberta Curriculum Guides like a monk would study his Bible. I was ready (L.C. pp. 13-14).

Even though he felt emotionally and physically drained at each days' end, the many instant rewards from the students plus requests from parents to have their children in his class, made it rewarding and provided motivation for Lloyd to pursue "being the best."

Lloyd's emphasis on language skills can be related to his experience as a child in school for whom English was a second language. Lloyd floundered for the first few years of schooling due to language difficulties and lack of a person to direct him at school. In fact he can hardly recall any teachings during that first few years. He went through a period where he was embarrassed when his parents came to school when, with his parents, he accidentally encountered friends, as well, he didn't bring friends home, due to his parents inability to speak English fluently. The teaching of language skills in his class are influenced by his parents' lack of English and Lloyd learning it as a second language; its importance is deeply ingrained.

Lloyd's beliefs and practices regarding the provision of a carefully and logically sequenced set of concepts with clear structure and organization, and the use of rote memory types of activity on occasion, relate to his own first four years of school, as well as to a particular teacher whom he calls his "white mother." These historical events, as well as his personal involvement in a project on Objective Based Education in Mathematics, contributed to evolving such beliefs that some content must have priority-- the basics must be taught and mastered first (in a block rather than spiral approach), and skills must be presented according to difficulty level.

Understandably, with Lloyd's language problem, his first years of school were very difficult. He remembers having to struggle and agonize over simple concepts himself. But this changed significantly in the fifth grade with Mrs. Hunt.

> My struggles as a student were nearly at an end after the fifth grade, thanks to a kind, young, energetic lady who brought everything all together for me and made me into a conscientious student. Mrs. Hunt taught in a very structured manner, was sensitive to our needs as students, and always had interesting lessons, however basic. She had many motivating techniques and was probably the single most important factor in my appreciation for handwriting, reading, neatness and order. To this day, I attempt to influence my students to do likewise. Since I learned most of my skills, it seems, from Mrs. Hunt, I still can remember some of her strategies, many of which were of the rote memory type of activities. This has led me to believe that with students who are unable to conceptualize data (such as I was in those days), the use of a similar approach is effective. I try to use it with my modified students and it seems to be working (L.C. p. 9).

His own suffering--culturally and economically--has made him try to be a patient, understanding, and humanistic teacher. At the same time as being humanistic and remembering to teach basic knowledge through logical, sequential order, he illuminates this with life experiences through discussions, pictures, role playing, and drama. The human side of teaching, particularly the emotional, has been helped by his wife.

> In addition, the old adage "behind every successful man is a woman," was very true for me. I feel fortunate and thankful that my wife was so supportive during these growing years. Her patience and understanding often permitted me to use her as a sounding board. More specifically, she helped me sort out my own feelings and emotions, and this awareness has carried over into my classroom. My students and I have established a mutual understanding that emotions and feelings are something real to be dealt with and not ignored. She also taught me that we can learn from each other and that an open line of communication is a must if learning is to take place. This is one of the first things I establish with my students as well as with other students and teachers in the school (L.C. p. 15).

Reflecting on his own pedagogy, Lloyd is quite pleased and comfortable with his current style; in fact he realizes it hasn't changed appreciably over the last few years. When changes did occur they were subtle and a result of changes in the mandated curriculum, a change in grade level, or through the effects of technology. Lloyd will not change his style of teaching until it is deemed ineffectual as determined by student reaction, test results, parental attitudes, and external evaluators.

> . . . changes in my curriculum programming are determined by curriculum changes mandated by the "powers that be." They are the ones who keep in tough with ever-changing societal needs and I need not worry personally about them. Regardless of its value to me, I will teach the mandated curriculum because they are the dictators and I am the facilitator. However, to what degree I teach the curricula is a decision that rests solely on my shoulders. As mentioned in an earlier paper, I do not follow the prescribed percentage of time in the mathematics curriculum guide, giving more time to numeration and operations than to measurement and geometry. This is a key point, for it tells me that although I am a puppet, I still have access to the strings and can determine how much change I want (L.B. p. 2).

Interpretation: The nature, sources and evolution of Lloyd's Knowledge

Lloyd's personal practical knowledge seems to be embodied by the notion of the basics for the 3 S's--survival, safety and success. These three aims relate simultaneously to Lloyd himself, his personal and cultural history, his career progression, and to his socio-economically disadvantaged pupils. These are perceived by Lloyd as very strong mutual interests which he translates into a common goal--to move upward. Lloyd, in order to pursue this goal of upward mobility with his pupils, has a strong image of family in his personal practical knowledge. It embodies and generates a significant amount of the content and process of curriculum and pedagogy for his classroom.

The notions of safety, survival, and success include acceptance. Positive feedback is necessary to indicate both acceptance and success. We can see how Lloyd feels quite secure and successful with his students from their feedback, (they love him actually) so much so that a major vignette he uses to show his usually successful pedagogy involves him being unsuccessful. When we move to a second potential source of acceptance and success--colleagues--we hear the story of Mrs. S. and apathetic colleagues--negative feedback. Lloyd withdraws for a number of years until his colleagues on the Objective Based Education give him very positive feedback and acceptance--the problem was, though, that teachers in general resisted implementing project materials; another source of frustration for Lloyd. Lloyd also feels a lot more comfortable sharing his ideas now

he is an administrator. By now, success as a teacher has given him the confidence that his ideas are worth sharing with his colleagues combined with the fact that success in becoming an administrator gives him legitimizing authority.

Lloyd's personal and cultural background, and his striving for the 3 S's, underpin his obsession with hard work, and constant pursuit for acceptance and competence for both himself and his pupils. Lloyd's personal practical knowledge integrates three main themes in order to provide for pupil acceptance, safety, survival, and success. Firstly, social development derives directly from his personal background and family life. He examines this first; it is considered at least, if not more, important as academic development which relates to the mandated curriculum. The values and ideals that Lloyd identifies as the fundamental content of his social development curriculum provide personal anchorage points of which Lloyd is certain. They relate to Lloyd's personal and cultural identity; they have also provided Lloyd, himself, with safety, survival, and success. They bring Lloyd as a person into the classroom and provide for authenticity and continuity as they are applied to his pupils. The words used to describe his pedagogy in the social development aspect of his curriculum should also be noticed. He enforces, reinforces, trains, repeats, ingrains, stresses, and emphasizes. A pedagogy that seems to be oriented towards long term goals (personal growth objectives) would, therefore, be characterized by repetition, emphasis, training, and reinforcement. It would be interesting to probe Lloyd to check with him what is his implicit theory of moral development: how are values learned? It seems that relentless effort must be exerted in this pedagogy of ingrainment for essential social development. It is understandable, then, that Lloyd wonders if he is a teacher or a social worker. Yet, if he gave up this aspect of his personal practical knowledge, he would be giving up the part of himself that represents an appeal to the authentic part of his culture and his experience that gave survival, safety, and success, and that binds him to his students' lives.

The second theme that is integrated into Lloyd's personal practical knowledge evolves out of academic development. This knowledge and practice evolves from family values, his experience as a learner, and through complying, for safety and survival reasons, to curriculum guidelines. He covers the curriculum, but interprets what he thinks are the basics, in a logical, well planned, sequenced, structured and organized fashion. His sort of kids, from his experience, need to know this material to make sure they move up; they also learn it better if it is formulated in the above manner.

The third theme is what one might characterize as the transformational medium of Lloyd's personal practical knowledge. The first two themes involving "ingrainment" of acceptable social values and learning the basics through a structured and sequential approach, on their own, make Lloyd's pedagogy seem dry, boring, and traditional.

This, however, is not the case. The third theme can be called the human side of his personal practical knowledge, which appears to derive both from the image of family and Lloyd's background as well as being acceptable ways of teaching according to the modern theories of learning implicit in his curriculum guidelines, and the nature of children. Lloyd and his class, together as a team in an active way, provide the experience necessary for skill development. Through this approach there are opportunities for interaction and concrete experiences. He emphasizes establishing warm and friendly relationships with children as individuals and provides opportunities for expression of self and emotion through various means. Lloyd, through his past suffering, is able to identify and empathize in a very human way with his students. In the end, this human side is the predominant flavor of his pedagogy that they experience. They are part of a nurturing family which has the necessary structure and direction.

Lloyd's social development curriculum is rooted directly in the set of personal, cultural and familial values emphasized by his parents. These were reinforced by the fact that they were successful in helping the family be upwardly mobile. Lloyd's own family experiences live on as an active image in his classroom.

His academic curriculum and teaching style are evolved from several sources. His parents moral sense contributes to curriculum coverage; their work ethic and other values combined with the need for safety, survival, and successful upward mobility are evolved and transformed through Lloyd's personal obsession with being the best. This also translates into finding what is acceptable from external guidelines, policies, and other resources.

Personal experience as a learner, the early struggles jointly with his white mother provide the source of an interest in structure, sequence, and organization. The early family experiences of suffering and working through cultural deprivation and language difficulties also provide strong roots for the human element, as well as the academic element, of Lloyd's personal practical knowledge.

Lloyd's early life (persons, experiences, family) are the major sources of Lloyd's thoughts and actions. Later professional influences and experience serve mainly to elaborate or refine his personal knowledge from the early years into his form of professional knowledge. His experience with socio-economically deprived children, and his upward mobility within teaching (Mrs. S.--withdrawal, administrative experience) and the Objective Based Education project served to reinforce the interest in the basic fundamentals, structure, sequence, and organization. Other sources of professional development have served more immediate instrumental, technical, and acceptance needs.

Lloyd's personal practical knowledge was evolved in a professional sense very early in

his career through his hard work at becoming a combination of what external sources and internal cultures and familial values might say "the best possible teacher" would be. Following this early development of teaching competence, Lloyd claims he has changed very little. If he has changed he has done so in response to mandated policies, changes in roles, or through technical elaboration of existing skills such as determining, structuring, and sequencing curriculum content, and designing effective tests through the Objective Based Education project. Experiences such as these allow Lloyd to become more explicitly what he already is. Following, then the relatively rapid initial formation of his personal practical knowledge which combines the personal with the mandated through practical experience, Lloyd's professional development mainly involves incremental elaboration of original patterns.

Description: Glenda's Story

Glenda is a 44 year old teacher with 9 years of experience, 2 of which were in an International School in Pakistan. She comes from a white lower middle class background and was the eldest of 4 children in her family. She teaches in a multi-grade English as a second language classroom in a school within a low socio-economic area. Children from a wide range of cultural backgrounds attend the school. Immigrant and refugee children constitute her class. Glenda works with her children on a pull-out resource room model basis. Besides working with ESL children in her classroom, she works in a supportive role with other teachers in the school assisting them in looking after the needs of children of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Working Reality

Glenda describes herself as being comfortable with her assignment since she has developed an approach, through training and experience, which works for her and her pupils. While she is comfortable within the working reality of her classroom, she experiences significant problems as a result of influences from outside the classroom.

> Issues that are outside my mandate and extend beyond the walls of my classroom frustrate me. I have little control over the attitudes and actions of others, but because they affect my students and their families as well as native students and non-white minorities, I have become committed to an intercultural education model that develops understanding and respect for diversity . . . (G.A. pp. 1-2).

Glenda uses illustrative experiences which show how she is frustrated. Vignettes included: how a Vietnamese boy, after one and one half years in Canada, was disturbed that he didn't know whether he was Canadian or Vietnamese; how Chinese students, in order to be seen as similar, insisted that Chinese New Year was Chinese Christmas; how Vietnamese parents refused to allow their child to attend camp because they could see no educational value in it, and how a native student hung his head and quit working when singled out for praise.

> I have been saddened for these students who are caught in situations over which they have no control and who valiantly try to find their identity in an often conflicting environment. In order to succeed they often turn their backs on their culture and even then find that they still are not accepted (G.A. p. 6).

Glenda seems to convert these feelings of frustration and inadequacy into energy for commitment to implement her dream of what intercultural education might be.

> Schools would acknowledge, respect and encourage the diversity in its citizens. Schools would encourage students to retain their language and customs . . . the multicultural nature of the classroom and community . . . would be more than dress, diet, and dance . . . . Students would be educated about the history, language, religion, politics, values, and customs of students in the school community in a way that would not value one culture over another. They could be eager to share experiences and participate together to broaden their understanding and develop respect for each other (G.A. pp. 7-8).

Glenda sees a number of constraints that impede progress towards this dream. They include problems within the social context of the community, colleagues in education, educational policy and funding, and her own lack of time. Glenda feels that since the dominant societal group does not live a multicultural life, the value of multiculturalism is not seen and appreciated. The attitude of the majority is implicitly superordinate in that they assume that immigrants should "become like me." Differences are viewed as strange in comparison to the dominant culture. Strange practices, if they persist, are experienced as threats. "They still speak Chinese at home!" "There are six adults in that apartment." These tendencies, Glenda feels, can lead to fear and prejudice. Members of the dominant group develop stereotypes to cope with their fears. "Native students are lazy," "Chinese kids are good at math."

> By labelling groups, the uniqueness of individuals is lost. Stereotyping also closes minds for further understanding; that is all there is to know (G.A. p. 10) about a particular minority group. Therefore, there is no need to take time out of an already full curriculum for multicultural activities.

A second major set of constraints is related to Glenda's colleagues, who, apart from

prejudices they might have themselves, are ill prepared for multicultural education. Some of Glenda's colleagues who are sensitive to the issues, and who would like to meet multicultural needs, do not have much time to devote to it. A number of teachers who were sympathetic to multicultural education transferred out of the school due to frustration with relationships with the administration of the school. This significantly diminished Glenda's support group. An innovative project that these teachers normally would support was resisted because it was pushed by the administration. Finally, Glenda felt that some teachers envied her class size, preparation and release time, lack of curriculum pressure, and her enthusiasm. They also did not want to be part of anything that meant extra work.

Glenda also feels, even after Alberta's Committee on Tolerance and Understanding, that local and provincial policies do not sufficiently support multicultural and intercultural education--a reflection perhaps of community attitude described earlier. The lack of public support--a strong voice--also means a lack of funding.

The last constraint that Glenda describes is lack of time to do all that has to be done. Her own words can graphically paint the picture.

> The greatest constraint I feel is that on my time. A look at last week's diary showed, in addition to my full-time teaching responsibilities, the preparation of a proposal for a multicultural lighthouse grant, a meeting with my director for funding to attend a week-long multicultural training program, orienting the native tutor to work with native students at . . . school, a meeting with the Native Liaison Officer to discuss a cultural awareness workshop for classroom teachers with native students, a Board of Directors meeting for Immigrant Settlement Agency, a graduate course, a computer writing workshop, and a call from the superintendent inviting me to speak to a local service club on ways they might assist immigrant and refugee children in this community. In addition, I serve on an Alberta Education Committee for English as a Second Language and am a member of the writing team for a grade three Social Studies unit. I am also a single parent with three children and sometimes I feel really stretched to try and give them "quality" time (G.A. pp. 15-17).

In reflecting on her working reality, Glenda notes that there is a wide gap between the ideal and the real which creates a paradox for her. Her ideal of intercultural education she likens to a hearty country vegetable soup. Each ingredient is distinctive and each contributes to the broth that binds each together. Intercultural education would allow students to savor the richness of that soup in the way that a gourmet would--not the way that a hungry child might gulp it down in his eagerness to be outside. She sees the "Festival" approach as gulping down the soup; it provides stereotyping through accentuating the 3 D's--diet, dress, and dance. Since, however, this is where the school is at, she will use the Festival to promote looking at similarities and values, and move

on next year to something better.

Pedagogy

Glenda started teaching ESL four years ago at the elementary level. Her previous experience had been at the secondary or adult level. When she commenced teaching ESL in a mainstreamed context she both taught and advised teachers as to how to teach her students in the regular classroom. She soon realized, however, that

> My linguistics oriented ESL training, though useful for describing language for me, had no direct practical application in the classroom . . . . I realized quickly that I was in deep trouble with this linguistics oriented approach . . . . I was able to hide my instructional inadequacies in the cubby-holes where I was assigned to teach in the various schools I travelled to. However, I was unable to disguise my lack of knowledge when questioned by teachers on what they could do to assist my students . . . . I felt totally inadequate and incompetent and a failure because I was unable to assist them (B.G. pp. 2-4).

Glenda felt a serious sense of responsibility to her students and their teachers. This, combined with her highly developed desire to succeed impelled her to develop a plan to solve the problem, maintain some pride and save face. Her plan involved:

1. Observing classrooms that seemed successful to find out what elementary students were capable of doing.

2. Asking lots of questions about reading programs which allowed her to evolve more of a language-oriented program as opposed to the skill-oriented ESL training she had received.

3. Taking a reading theory course at University during the summer which provided a psycholinguistic framework from which to respond to teachers' questions.

4. Using experience, observation, selected courses and workshops to evolve ways for practical application through appropriate classroom strategies and resources.

> Four years later I feel I have made progress and am comfortable with my personal pedagogy because it works! It is enjoyable for my students and me (G.B. pp. 5-6).

Glenda's classroom, only fourteen feet square, is lined with bookcases and bulletin boards which reflect current themes. Most activities occur at a hexagonal table in the center of the room. To one side, piled high with files, correspondence, things to do and ignore, sits Glenda's desk. She never works there. The environment encourages conversation and activity to which all students are expected to contribute as far as they

are able within class rules to which they have contributed. Within a language development approach, Glenda uses themes that capture the pupils' interest around which to organize a variety of activities that encourage and integrate communication through viewing, listening, reading, speaking, and writing. Errors are considered developmental, which, as proficiency increases, students correct themselves. Students develop language at their own rate as they become ready for the next natural step.

Glenda uses singing, chanting, songs, realia, audio-visual experiences, repetitive and predictable stories.

> . . . the beginning group has been learning about farms. I introduced the Little Red Hen with a filmstrip and then used a rhebus story on large chart papers which I read and encouraged the students to chime in when they felt ready. Because the story is highly predictable they were all reading parts by the third page . . . .
>
> A trip to the Agricultural Exposition produced a group story. I used this language experience story as an evaluation instrument to assess their grasp of concepts and vocabulary and, although there are a few syntax errors, I am delighted with the product. The students are as well as they love reading their own stories (G.B. pp. 7-8).

Glenda does not use phonics, grammar drills, worksheets, as they are irrelevant to the students and boring to her; besides they are not consistent with her philosophy of language development. She does not write behavioral objectives which she finds too prescriptive and restrictive. She plans a general direction from a theme. Student responses and interests influence specific directions which experience has shown her to be "beyond written objectives." Her long range plans "go as far as Friday."

Glenda feels she has an advantage over other teachers in that she has no mandated curriculum. Whereas the daily challenge of developing resources and activities to interest and motivate students was exhausting for the first two or three years, her current level of experience and teaching enables her to quickly select those resources which are appropriate. She still, however, develops activities in an ongoing way as she responds to children's readiness and interests within each theme. A second advantage Glenda feels she has is that she is not pressured by provincial or local examinations--she is accountable to her students, her administrators, and to herself.

Glenda feels that two major factors influence her current pedagogy. The first is the cultural heritages and needs of her students. She feels that they are already proficient communicators in one language and she just provides them with the opportunity to use their communication skills in another through a supportive environment relevant to their interests which provides confidence, comfort, and proficiency. She feels that it is

the students who have enabled her to create a unique learning environment. The second factor that influences her pedagogy is Glenda as a person. Such characteristics as a desire to succeed, a fear of failure, and a highly developed sense of responsibility towards herself and others are sources of motivation for the self-initiated way she evolves her expertise and particular philosophy in ESL. She has not stopped this process. This year she has identified the provision for creative writing for advanced students as an observable weakness in her teaching. She has already attended several workshops and intends to pursue more. Glenda also realizes that not having a mandated curriculum and tests has provided her with the freedom and challenge to do what she has done in terms of curriculum and pedagogy. She surmises that maybe she would not have evolved her pedagogy the way she did had she had to function within curriculum guidelines and the provincial tests. She also asserts, however, that if they were introduced now she would not change her pedagogy and curriculum in any major way!

> In spite of the time, energy, and commitment as well as the constraints mentioned earlier, I enjoy my work. It is satisfying to work with students who are highly motivated to learn, who are responsive and appreciative, and who hold the teacher in high esteem (G.B. p. 13).

Tales from the Past

How did Glenda's past life history influence who she is as a teacher? How did she come to think and act the way she does in the classroom? In reflecting on her past and these questions, Glenda reconstructed her memories using the metaphor of a "slow motion film of a seed developing and growing into a blossom," since "the awareness of and respect for the values and traditions of cultural groups has been a gradual process for me" (G.C. p. 1). She relates significant events that represented crossroads in her life and identifies key people who influenced her within phases called "Planting the Seed," "Nurturing," "The Bud Begins to Open," "Full Bloom,' and "Planting Again."

Planting the Seed: Glenda's parents, through their teaching and own example, planted the seed of respect for others who were "different" for whatever reason-- particularly her father.

> I remember the night before starting grade 1. My father sat me on his knee and talked to me about the importance of education and doing my best. He also told me that I would meet other children who might have a different color skin, different shaped eyes or different kind of hair, but in spite of these differences all boys and girls were like me because we all have feelings and we all want to be happy. . . . That discussion had an enormous impact on me . . . (G.C. p. 2).

Nurturing: The impact of her father's words was strong enough to enable Glenda to respect children of different races, although she did not make any overt gestures of friendship towards any minority students during her schooling. Her schooling years, however, did provide for the development of "a strong root system and a stem" (G.C. P. 3) in nurturing Glenda's seed of interest in other cultures in two particular ways. Firstly, she sought out as much information as she could about other cultures throughout elementary school. She can even remember the names of particular books she took out from the public library which focused on children from other lands. This search for information continued unabated and evolved into a very strong interest in social studies.

Secondly, a social studies teacher in high school had a tremendous influence on Glenda's attitude towards people of other cultures. Ted Aoki, a Japanese Canadian, University Professor and curriculum scholar of note, was Glenda's high school social studies teacher. He spent the first few weeks of grade nine relating how the internment of Japanese Canadians and the "resettlement" in Southern Alberta had affected his family and his life. Her class examined the event from historical, social, and moral perspectives.

> It was in his class that I realized that all of the interesting bits of information that I had read about other cultures was personal and human. I became aware that lives were structured around Islamic laws; that people suffered and grieved after Hiroshima; that the Renaissance was pain and anguish for those great artists. I learned that all events affected me because I was a member of humanity. It seemed everything that was taught in Ted Aoki's class had meaning in my life . . .
>
> Ted Aoki was able to inspire me with his knowledge and ideals because he was sincere and caring that we learned and understood. He was more than a model for me of what a teacher should be, he has often been my conscience (G.C. pp. 5-6).

For Glenda a bud appeared on the stem at this time but it remained closed for a number of years. A planned University major did not work out, some teaching, (Home Economics) marriage, children, and suburbia took care of her time and interests for a number of years.

The Bud Begins to Open: It was when Glenda's husband joined External Affairs and was posted to Pakistan that she resumed her interest in other cultures. It allowed her "to catch a glimpse of the blossom that had been dormant for so many years" (G.C. p. 7). This glimpse, however, was only apparent after a number of traumatic and paradoxical experiences.

The realities of life in Pakistan did not match the expectations she had created in her mind. As well the social and heady whirl of diplomatic life, of mingling with ambassadors, diplomats, and other V.I.P.'s from around the world was her major lived experience--not participation within the host culture.

> It has been just lately that I have been able to put in perspective the years with External Affairs and to realize that we all suffered from a severe case of cultural superiority (G.C. pp. 8-9).

One negative experience Glenda identifies as culture shock, whereby there is initial euphoria at the novelty of experience of the new culture, secondly, frustration is experienced as the individual attempts to deal with conflicting sets of rules, thirdly, dysfunction occurs, and lastly, resolution of cultural conflicts. Glenda did not experience the first stage upon arriving in Pakistan. A second stage of irritation was characterized by her in terms of servants unable to perform their tasks during Ramadan, driving on the "wrong" side of the road, and the unavailability of bacon.

In her third phase Glenda rejected the Pakistani culture and refused to understand or accept what appeared to her to be meaningless behaviors and traditions.

> I was angry with External Affairs for sending me to such a God-forsaken hole. Small things bothered me a great deal (G.C. p. 10).

Glenda vividly remembers the emotion associated with a regulation that did not allow her to have a lamp on the hall table because her husband's professional status did not entitle her to have one. She was miserable, unhappy, and felt betrayed by everyone and everything. Glenda, however, decided that she was responsible for solving her own problems (fourth stage) and making the most of her experience.

> . . . and my thoughts turned to Ted Aoki. I asked myself what would he suggest for me to do and I realized that I had to find the personal, human element in Pakistan which was not at the receptions, tea parties, and dinners I attended. I took an interest in the lives of my servants, found out about their families, their villages, their beliefs and their dreams. Artisans and shopkeepers also shared experiences with me. Finally I was getting better (G.C. pp. 11-12).

Glenda talks of the curing process that continued while she was teaching English at the International School of Islamabad: this is where the bud began to open.

With some previous experience, an anthology, a teachers' guide and student workbooks, she felt she could survive teaching twenty grade ten students from fourteen different countries. She was pleased with the discussion of one of the first stories of a women from new England at the beginning of the century who renounced her husband's

authority, but then she noticed that only the Western students were participating.

> A student from Thailand seemed upset so I invited his comments which were startling to most of the class . . . . "Women are very special" he said, "and should not be bothered by unimportant details. A woman has an important job to help her husband and children become great and good. The husband should take care of things that are not important" (G.C. p. 13).

At this point Glenda bit her lip and resisted the urge to argue the point. Other non-Western students began to share the role of women in their cultures as the class engaged the issue with great fascination.

> The teacher's guide was closed and the students' workbooks were returned to the bookroom. The culture and knowledge within the classroom was infinitely more exciting (G.C. p. 14).

Glenda and her class explored the feminist movement in the West as well as attempting to understand women's roles from many different cultural perspectives. The teaching of English had served a dual purpose; it had also been a stepping stone to intercultural understanding.

Full Bloom: Teaching English as a Second Language has provided Glenda with the opportunity to continue her evolvement with people from other cultures in a personal way. This phase was described in the previous sections of this paper. Glenda also talked of planting again, whereby the focus of her efforts will take her beyond the classroom into the examination of the development of quality intercultural education throughout the school system.

Looking Ahead

Glenda uses insights gleaned from examining her own personal professional biography and from the social learning of others life histories in our group in order to project herself into the future. She plans to focus on engaging those constraints from outside her classroom that made her feel helpless. She intends to use her personal strengths and new knowledge to initiate a major school-based project in intercultural education at the school. In doing so she will not impose her personal agenda on others but will participate with her colleagues in evolving what they want out of it. She will take the position that each teacher has a unique understanding of his/her classroom and therefore can determine how best to incorporate project activities therein. At the same time, however, she realizes that when teachers feel inadequately prepared her support should always be felt. She will try to create a sharing and collegial atmosphere wherein she will be a learner who does not have all the answers as well as a resource person. She will also bring in community resource people. She feels and has the aim

that, a project like this will create an open and cohesive school climate.

Glenda's longer range plans include: providing for educational programming needs for minority students; providing professional support for classroom teachers in cultural awareness, programs and instruction; implementing cultural components within the curriculum; creating activities for the classroom and outside that are cross-cultural in nature. She thinks that the best position from which to promote these activities would be as a consultant in intercultural education for a school board. She notes that she needs to continue her work as a catalyst for this thrust within the school board to gain administrative commitment and support.

Interpretations: The nature, sources, and evolution Glenda's knowledge

The content of Glenda's personal knowledge of teaching is based on children of minority cultures and intercultural education. We can understand this interest from the perspective of her early romantic fascination with far off lands, later made a more human and personally experienced phenomenon, both in the sense of how minorities might experience oppression, but most important how Glenda felt when in the same position. Her experience in becoming a self-determined person out of the foreign and oppressive cultures of Pakistan, the diplomatic service, and the traditional woman's role provides a core experience and image in her personal, practical knowledge that brings her to her work with her students and their lives.

In her work, there is a structural continuum from the real to the ideal. Though the gap presents a dilemma, Glenda appears to use the tension created as energy to move gradually from the real to the ideal. There are three terrains within which she has real-ideal continuums, along which she aims to progress. One concerns the primitive dress, diet and dance approach to multicultural education and the ideal "vegetable soup" from of intercultural education. Another is her own professional competence which ranges in the past from, inadequacy and incompetence, towards a future whereby she will have evolved her skills to be able to work effectively within an intercultural notion of education. The third is the broader context of the school, school board, and society. This framework, regardless of the content of Glenda's personal, practical knowledge, characterizes it as much as a process as anything else. We see her moving along a developmental continuum in an open and dynamic way. Her knowledge is self formed out of personal and professional experience, moved along by a strong sense of responsibility to herself and to others as well as a desire to succeed. As a result of this process the content of her personal, practical knowledge, so far, is underguided by

several key factors. Emotionally, Glenda is able to understand and empathize with her students. She is able not only to accept but value them as individual humans with personal stories but also their cultural and linguistic backgrounds as well. This is manifested in a central way in her curriculum and pedagogy. Her curriculum is based on themes which are of importance and interest to her pupils. The themes are evolved and shaped according to the responses of her students. Her job, to enable her students to communicate in the English language, she links directly to them through regarding them as already possessing expertise in communicating in another language which can be manifested in English if they are given the right support, opportunities, and a comfortable environment. Her classroom is small, cosy, with a hexagonal table as the center of everyones activity. There is a plethora of resources from which selections in support of a variety of activities are made, depending on the theme, to enable all sorts of self expressive communication to occur. Glenda regards the learning of communication skills developmental and self correcting. She does not have detailed plans, just a general idea of where each theme might go--until Friday. She doesn't, therefore, use behavioral objectives, grammar drills phonics or worksheets.

Glenda claims that her pupils have taught her what her curriculum and pedagogy should be. In that sense she lives the notion of teacher as learner, not only in her personal but also in her pedagogical life. The relationship in the classroom then is horizontal in the sense that everyone participates in some sense in discerning where to go and what to do next--important ingredients in reducing alienation and increasing the opportunity for self determination. Glenda hastens to add, however, that this hasn't been easy. She still has difficulty leaving "the teacher as dispenser of wisdom and knowledge" to trust in her students.

Her father and the romantic fascination with other lands contributed an important predispositional interest on Glenda's part. Ted Aoki, as teacher, and a mentor image, served an important transitional catalyst in moving Glenda from a distant other focused/directed framework of multiculturalism to a personal, human, and authentic view of minority persons and herself. These incidents and persons, though significant, only presage the major source of Glenda's personal practical knowledge which is herself. The key, for Glenda, and in her view, for her pupils, is self-directedness. This involved putting significant others in facilitative relationship to self as opposed to a source of self. The major sources, then, of Glenda's personal, practical knowledge are rooted in personal and professional experiences that gave rise to her self directedness. These occurred at the nadir of her anomie. Following the "stagnant period" of being a suburban wife, having children, teaching what she didn't want to teach (home economics) she was alienated further by being immersed in a foreign culture, the artificial diplomatic life, being still a traditional wife and woman. Many conflicting sets

of rules, none of them hers, governed her life leaving her powerless and inauthentic. In a sense, the symbol of the hall table lamp encapsulates and represents, at once, the depths of other-directedness and the decision to liberate and author herself and to begin to understand other people (minorities) in their own terms too. Her personal development intertwined with that of others through her explorations of the people and culture of Pakistan, as well as through her explorations of the role of women in different cultures while teaching. She returned the texts of others in a literal and metaphorical sense to the storeroom and proceeded, with her students, to examine and create texts of her own and their own. She no longer rubbed and polished Aladdin's lamp in the hope of magic or treasure, but created her own.

The foregoing discussion of the nature and sources of Glenda's personal practical knowledge has also characterized, in a general sense, its change and evolution. The watershed experiences which enabled Glenda to become self-initiated and self-determined constitute a revolution of her disposition and activities with respect to her own life. This facilitated the commitment and energy for the evolution of a curriculum and pedagogy in intercultural education over an exhausting but satisfying three/four year period. She acknowledged her inadequacy, lack of competence and the uselessness of particular theories and set about a process of practical self-education and professional development in the three terrains of her professional life. She did this through observation, questioning, experience, reflection on experience, and the careful selection of courses, workshops, and conferences that met her needs providing a coherent curriculum for professional development. This occurred in the absence of mandated curricula and tests. Glenda would not change her way of working even if a mandated curriculum and tests were now imposed. This evolutionary and developmental process continues in all three terrains. Glenda has already embarked on activities involving a school-based approach whereby she, with her colleagues in a cooperative team, are evolving their own version of intercultural education.

A Comparative Analysis of Lloyd and Glenda's Personal Practical Knowledge

As a way of beginning to approach a consideration of both the uniquenesses and the potentially collectively held aspects of teachers' personal, practical knowledge we will compare Glenda's and Lloyd's biographies. As well, in a spirit of exploratory speculation we will relate this discussion to preliminary interpretations of thirty other teacher biographies.

Before sketching some comparisons between the nature, sources and evolution of the

two teachers' personal practical knowledge, we find it important to draw attention to significant features of their working contexts. Indeed, "changes" in the financing of education, in the degree of political intervention in school matters, and in the views of, and general level of, esteem for teachers held within the public at large, have, and are having profound effects upon the ways that teachers experience their jobs (Ball and Goodson, 1985, p. 2).

Thus, both Glenda and Lloyd work in situations that are somewhat demanding: lloyd with his lower socio-economic group who have a variety of problems, Glenda with E.S.L. children. They are both well respected and effective at their jobs. They have to work hard, having worked particularly hard, as do most teachers, at the beginning of their teaching careers to be able to build up the professional expertize necessary for effective teaching. They both relate how their jobs are stressful and constrained in several common and several different ways. Firstly, despite the stress of teaching in the classroom, they both see the major sources of stress as emanating from outside the classroom or from sources over which they have less control. Perhaps that is why they are perceived as more stressful or alienating. Most teachers appear to feel this way. The details of these external stresses are different in several ways for each as a result of both situation and personal disposition. Lloyd cites interruptions, the fishbowl, and external testing as problems, whereas Glenda cites the educational system, political, and societal attitudes and commitments. One particular source of stress that both Glenda and Lloyd identify is intercollegial relations, both with peers and administrators. Glenda's and Lloyd's responses to intercollegial problems are quite different perhaps due, primarily, to their personal dispositions and motivations, although their situations might contribute as well. Lloyd withdraws and becomes a "closet teacher"; Glenda does not. She continues to work in a collegial way. It could be argued that Glenda's job requires her to collaborate more than Lloyd, and indeed this might be part of the reason why Glenda does not withdraw, but Lloyd's grade level meetings did provide some pressure to collaborate. We argue this way because Lloyd's personal dispositions, the three S's, and upward mobility would likely lead to withdrawal. As well, in other biographies we have noticed other male teachers practicing the same tactic when faced with intercollegial problems. This example is one potential instance of gender differences that are beginning to emerge in our interpretive work.

A third element, common to both working contexts, are curriculum guidelines. Even if they mean different things to each one of them--Lloyd respects them and Glenda is relieved she does not have to follow them--they seem to be a part of the working environment that cannot be ignored. In our future work with other biographies it will be interesting to investigate the role of curriculum guidelines in the worklife of teachers'.

The nature, of course, of Lloyd's and Glenda's personal, practical knowledge, though having similar aims for pupils, with respect to acquisition of communications skills, are quite different in the sense of means, illuminating the distinct uniqueness that the interaction of person, task, and situation bring. Lloyd's three S's and upward mobility contrast with Glenda's self-determination and real--ideal continuums. There is however, one strong common factor between Lloyd and Glenda. In each case the nature of their personal practical knowledge enables both to be able to identify with the situations of their students. This provides a bridge between teacher and students that binds them together in a common effort. This is a form of mutualism that can maximize congruence of teacher and pupil intentions and, therefore, learning. We suspect that many successful classrooms exhibit this phenomenon. Glenda emphasizes (assisted by no mandated curriculum or tests) the child and teacher as selves negotiating curriculum and pedagogy, as compared to Lloyd, who combines ingrainment with structure. These appear quite different. In the end, however, both pedagogies are active, concrete, expressive, personal and varied with a distinct emphasis on empathy, warmth, and humanness. This, regardless of other differences, leaves a similar experienced flavour with the students. One difference in experienced flavour, however, might be with respect to student choice. Lloyd's students do make choices and are able to be expressive but the spectrum is constrained by their being subjected more to the mandated curriculum and external tests. The context of mandated curriculum and external tests, combined with personal disposition gives rise to Lloyd being, not a puppet, but a carefully planned negotiator, an arbitrator, a mediator, on behalf of his students, within the social structures, that the students, and Lloyd, find themselves. The aim is success within the existing system. Glenda on the other hand is able to plan and negotiate with her students as, and for, self-determination. She thinks in terms of them and her transcending and/or transforming school-based and societal constraints to "interculturalism."

The influences on, or sources of, both Glenda's and Lloyd's personal, practical knowledge include experiences as a child, parents, teachers, one's cultural background, personal and professional experiences, and peers. This spectrum of possible influences are relatively common across the teachers in our biographies although the unique patterns and emphases might differ. Some teachers, but not all, have current mentors, past mentors who remain with them in spirit, or images that guide their thoughts and actions. Teacher education is seldom mentioned; when it is it mostly relates to an outstnding professor or teacher associate. There are sometimes, but rarely, references to outstanding teacher education programs. Though they differ as to pattern and emphasis of influences, with Glenda's being more personal and later than Lloyd's early and familial pattern, they cluster around when they had their most significant life

experiences, traumas, and transformations. This attests to the links between life history and professional thought and action.

The evolution of their personal, practical knowledge, their attitude and approaches to professional change, improvement, and development are quite different and distinct. If this variety is sustained over a large number of teachers one can appreciate the necessity of teacher-initiated approaches to participating in and interpreting large scale changes that are deemed necessary for our pupils' futures.

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